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It is particularly requested that all editors: 1. print as much of the contents of the "International Press Correspondence" as possible; 2. send exchange copies of their respective newspapers and journals to the editors of the "International Press Correspondence"; 3. offer advice and criticism about the "Correspondence", and suggest articles on subjects which may be of special interest to their respective countries. The editors set themselves the task of acting as a means of information and a connecting link between the various branches of the international labour movement. All letters, requests and enquiries received will obtain immediate attention. Members of labour and communist parties are also requested to send the editors of the "International Press Correspondence" the names and addresses of all their organs, so that copies can be sent to them.

## POLITICS

### The Anglo-French Conflict and the Moratorium for Germany

by Arthur Rosenberg (Berlin).

Stinnes was in London. It is not certain whether Lloyd George spoke to him or not. It seems that the German visitors rouse in the English ministers the same emotion which Heine expressed in verse: "Blame me not my lovely child but greet me not on 'Unter den Linden'". When we're at home everything will be all explained". At any rate, official assurance comes from the English side, that Lloyd George did not receive Stinnes. This denial has about as much value as official denials usually have. But the very fact that the English government has issued such a statement, proves that it must be considerate of France's feelings in this matter; and it is. The government press at Paris sounded an alarm at Stinnes' trip to London. Stinnes was characterized by it as the Pan-German leader whose only dream is the subjugation of Russia, and who wants to carry on the war of revenge against the Allies, with the aid of the gigantic Heastern power. The London report that Lloyd George scorned the visit of Hugo Stinnes was received with approbation at Paris.

In the meanwhile other reports are reaching France. From these reports it seems that Stinnes and Rathenau must have spoken with certain influential British personages, and that these interviews bore some very substantial results. No less than three official communications reached Paris in one day. One of these came through the Reuter Agency, and intimated that England and France were still far from an agreement in the Turkish question. Another Reuter dispatch called attention to the fact that England could not possibly reduce its navy if France does not reduce its army. Thirdly, the English government sent a communication to the Council of Ambassadors in Paris, in which it recommends the repeal of the military sanctions on the Rhine, and proposes the curtailing of allied military control in Germany. When it is suggested to the French that they evacuate Düsseldorf, Duisburg and Ruhrort, they at once become nervous. And when the recommendation is made that they limit General Nollet's staff, they become still more nervous. Both of these ideas, namely, the evacuation of the Rhine cities, and the limiting of the Commission of Allied Control in Germany, were entertained by the English government for a long time. But Briand's energetic opposition prevented their being carried out. The fact that England again raises these two questions, shows that it wishes to have the German question thoroughly settled anew. Moreover, it is clear that England acts as spokesman for the German bourgeoisie.

Nothing official is yet known from English quarters on the question of the famous moratorium plan. But the well informed London "Daily Mail" declares that the English government was busy with the question of the German debt, especially with the payment of 500,000,000 gold marks, which are due on the 15th of January.

The English government realises that the depreciation of the German mark is due to the continual gold payments made by Germany. Again, the low value of the German mark makes it absolutely impossible for English goods to enter the German market. This condition can be overcome only by freeing Germany for some time from the obligation of making gold payments. Hence, a moratorium of two or three years may be granted it. So far, the English government has undoubtedly accepted all the proposals made by the German bourgeoisie. A few days ago, the English Ambassador in Berlin, Lord D'Abernon, whose relations with the Stinnes group are well known, likewise left for London where he will collaborate in the government action which is in preparation there.

The English government however, and the capitalist circles which are behind it, do not confine their plans to financial questions. The best minds of the English bourgeoisie have for some time been busy looking for a solution for the economic crisis of their country. They seek to increase England's production at all costs. The burden of taxation is therefore to be lightened in every possible way. This is the main reason why England is ready to accept naval disarmament. Furthermore, new markets are to be won, and in connection with this project Germany's foreign exchange is to be saved in order that it may become a buyer of English goods. But the English bourgeoisie wants still more; and Stinnes also wants very much more. England's chief concern is still one of preventing France from getting control of all the essential coal and iron regions of Central and Western Europe. French capital seeks to trench itself in the German coal mines and in German industry, and thus to establish a great French industrial power in Europe, against which England would be powerless. England

opposes this with all its might. France wants to expropriate the large German industries; England wants to aid them. English capital is ready to participate in German industry in any form whatever. The Stinnes plan of having the large German industries rob the Government of the railroads, and then borrowing English gold on this booty, seems to find favor in London. Again, the Stinnes project of a joint Anglo-German penetration of Russia, is only a rebirth of old English plans.

The realization of these projects would place great obstacles in the way of the French attempt to dominate Europe politically and economically. As soon as the English flag waves over the German factories, the French would be left with empty hands. France wishes to put through the Russian coup all by itself. Indeed, it does not want to deal with the Soviet government; it will seek to restore the Russian Monarchy first. The restored Russian empire is also to become a French colony, as the republics of Germany, Poland, Czecho-Slovakia, etc., already are.

Stinnes believes himself to be the industrial Napoleon of these times; but unfortunately, he has the militaristic Napoleon of today—Marshall Foch—against him. The most cunning Stinnes projects and the warmest approbations of London fall to the ground when Foch begins to march. France does not at all intend to make any concessions to England in the German of the Turkish questions, or in the disarmament proposition. The capitalist press of Paris declares that if England desires peace in the Orient, "it should please be so kind" as to have its Greek friends completely evacuate Asia Minor. Furthermore, if England has suddenly lost all enthusiasm for the naval disarmament plans of Hughes—this is possibly correct because Japan's antagonistic attitude frustrated the whole disarmament project—then she may build as many ships as she pleases, but it should not shift the blame for the Washington failure upon France. And as far as the moratorium for Germany is concerned, France declares that in the next few years it will not be able to bear a postponement of the German payments. If some people insist upon relieving the German financial situation, they must furnish a substitute to France; this means that America and England should pay France the amounts which Germany was otherwise to pay. Since the Anglo-Saxons on both sides of the Atlantic are politely declining to play the part of the "rich uncle", the whole moratorium plan has come to naught.

To do without a moratorium for the enormous German obligations in the next few years is also more than the English financial world can stand; especially when the failure of the Washington Conference becomes more probable from day to day. England must therefore be careful not to waste its capital assets.

Nothing short of a miracle must take place in Paris, to enable Stinnes and his English friends to reach their goal. We will wait and see whether the miracle takes place or not.

## Politics in Japan and the Premier's Assassination.

by *Kako Oba.*

The assassination of Premier Hara will undoubtedly effect a change in the political situation of Japan. Before we go any further into this matter, we must understand the following points:

1. What were the relations between the late premier and the "Hendro", the political group which always retained good relations with the imperial palace.

2. The present situation in the "Seiju-Kai", the political party whose leader was Hara, a highly intelligent and capable man who pursued a very clever policy.

The most important political leaders in Japan were Hara (leader of the "Seiju-Kai"), and Viscount Kato (leader of the "Ken-Sei-Kai"); then there is Osaki who sought to play a part similar to the one adopted by Kerensky in Russia. But in political ability Hara surpassed all the others.

During the last decade it became a tradition in Japan to appoint to the prime ministry only such men as had the protection of "Henro". So for instance, Kato, the leader of the opposition party "Ken-Sei-Kai", had the Marquis Okuma as his "Henro"; Hara, however, had two "Henro", the Marquis Saionji and Prince Yamagata, with whose aid Hara was active in the militarist group.

For three years Hara was at the head of the Japanese cabinet. More than two thirds of all the members of the Japanese Parliament now belong to the "Seiju-Kai" party of which Hara was the leader, and in recent years the dictator.

Hara represented the following political views:

1. Against universal suffrage, because it is disadvantageous to the "Seiju-Kai" Party, which represents the interests of the large land-owners.

2. For an intensification of Japan's colonial policy in Korea, and the postponement of the time set for the evacuation of Siberia by Japanese troops, which was to take place in the spring of this year.

These two points in Hara's program show that he was on the side of the militarists.

3. Laws forbidding the meeting and organization of a legal Socialist or Labor Party.

It is understood that the Japanese proletariat did not at all sympathize with these points. Even political parties like "Ken-Sei-Kai" and "Kok-Min-To" took up the fight for suffrage in recent years, and in the last session of Parliament, they insisted upon the evacuation of Siberia by Japanese troops.

A still greater hatred was roused among the Japanese workers against the "Seiju-Kai" Party by the Southern Manchuria railway scandal; it was shown that the most prominent members of the "Seiju-Kai" embezzled large sums of money from the Southern Manchuria Railway Company, and paid them into the treasury of the "Seiju-Kai" Party.

Under such circumstances the "Seiju-Kai" cannot retain the cabinet in its hands, in spite of the fact that it has a majority in Parliament.

How will the cabinet be made up then?

There are two possibilities: first, that the cabinet will be made up of the militarist group in conjunction with the "Kok-Min-To" (National Party). Of course, the militarists do not enjoy the confidence of the people, but so long as the leader of the militarists, Prince Yamagata, is alive, this group will continue to have a strong influence in political circles, because of the support given them by the big capitalists. At the present moment, however, they lack a capable politician, who could be appointed to the premiership. The former minister of war, Tanaka, is not fitted for this office, in spite of the fact that he is the favorite of Prince Yamagata.

Moved by these considerations, the militarist group has decided to construct a coalition cabinet, and for this reason two candidates were proposed by them: Baron Goto, who is now commander of Tokio and who formerly worked together with the late Premier Goro Terauchi, and the old politician Inukai, the leader of the "Kok-Min-To" (The National Party).

Should the proposed cabinet come into existence, its program would be as follows:

1. At the Washington Conference this cabinet would insist upon naval disarmament; the "naval group" will oppose such a move because the military group recently showed a tendency towards assuming friendly relations with America and giving up the Island of Yap.

2. The relations between the new cabinet and Soviet Russia will necessarily take a turn for the worse; it is possible that it will not recognize the Far East Republic at all.

3. As far as Korea is concerned, Japanese militarism will continue to press forward; the development of the labor movement however, will have to overcome many new obstacles.

The second possibility I am thinking of is that Marquis Okuma and Count Kato, the leader of the "Ken-Sei-Kai" (Constitutional Party) will try to form the new cabinet. This would lead to the dissolution of the next Parliament. Should the new cabinet be formed by the "Ken-Sei-Kai" Party, the political situation would be improved, although it would not exceed the bounds of the "democratic program", which would consist of the following:

1. The actual application of universal suffrage.

2. The practical recognition of the government of the Far-Eastern Republic.

3. No friendly relations with America however. The watchword of the "Ken-Sei-Kai" is: "On to the South" (Ocean Policy). The "Ken-Sei-Kai" is on friendly terms with the naval group which is against yielding the Island of Yap to America. The cabinet which may thus possibly be formed by the "Ken-Sei-Kai", would therefore take an antagonistic stand at the Washington Conference, in the question of naval disarmament.

Of the two possibilities considered, the first one is the more probable one. In this case the change of cabinet will not take place so soon, because there are negotiations going on between the members of Hara's cabinet, the members of the "Seiju-Kai", and the proposed new cabinet. The "Seiju-Kai" Party will put the condition that two-thirds of the Cabinet members should be chosen from its representatives. The change of cabinet may be expected to take place at the end of December 1921.

The dissolution of Hara's cabinet due to his death will effect no great sudden changes in the political life of Japan. On the contrary a reactionary cabinet may create the illusion of a transition phenomenon. This will of course rouse a strong

opposition, and the cabinet will not last more than half a year. It is therefore to be hoped that the coalition cabinet of the militaristic group will be the last reactionary occurrence in Japan.

After that the political currents of Japan will quickly take a radical turn. This will be the first link in the chain of victory of the Japanese proletariat.

## One Year of Soviet Diplomacy in the Orient.

Summary of an Interview with *G. Chicherin*.

*Friendly Peace with Turkey.*

The year from November 1920 to November 1921 was especially characterized by the growth of the liberation movement among the peoples of the Orient.

Our first diplomatic relations with Turkey date from November 6, 1920. But a short time afterwards our relations with Angora were broken, because of the treaty made between Kiazim Kara Bekir's army and Armenia's reactionary Dashnak government which had taken refuge at Alexandropol. This treaty had for its object the imposition of a Turkish protectorate upon all Armenia, although a Soviet government had already been formed in Armenia. This Soviet government did not recognize this treaty, which later became the object of negotiations between Turkey and Russia. The Angora government, however, negotiated with the Entente. On March 7th Bekir Sami Bey, the Turkish plenipotentiary, obtained the evacuation of Cilicia from France, at the price of important concessions. On March 13th he concluded a similar accord with Italy. But in April, the National Assembly of Angora refused to ratify these treaties.

On February 2nd, Ali Fuad Pasha and Yussuf Kemal Bey together with the peace delegation arrived in Moscow. On March 16th a friendly peace was concluded. Georgia kept Batum and Turkey kept Kars, Ardagan and Artvy. On May 3rd Comrade Nazaremus was appointed to represent Soviet Russia at Angora.

Since then, Turkey has aided the famine-stricken of the Volga region. It has had to repel the Greek invasion. It is significant to note that on the morrow of its victory over King Constantine's armies M. Franklin Bouillon arrived at Angora (Oct. 26th) to negotiate an agreement in the name of France.

Comrade Frunzé arrived at Angora at this time to conclude a treaty in the name of the Ukraine. Red Ukraine offered peace at a time which was most critical for the national Ottoman government.

The Kars Conference (September 26th to October 13th) brought together the plenipotentiaries of Russia, Turkey and of the three Red Republics of Georgia, Armenia and Azerbeidjan. It settled the disputes existing until in the Caucasus.

*End of English Influence in Persia.*

At the fourth anniversary of the October Revolution our relations with Persia arrived at a turning-point. On October 22, 1920, the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Iran had decided that the social revolution in Persia had to pass through the stage of the bourgeois revolution, and thus put an end to the attempts of the Soviet government of Gilian to introduce Communism immediately into the country. On October 25th, a special ambassador from Persia came to Moscow in order to negotiate peace between the two nations. At this time England was bringing pressure to bear upon Persia to induce it to carry out the agreements made by a previous government, and repudiated by Mushirad Dovle's democratic cabinet. A ministerial crisis ensued, and England managed to obtain satisfaction. In the meanwhile, our negotiations were carried on favorably. On January 22nd Comrade Kothstein was appointed as the Soviet's minister plenipotentiary to Persia. Karakhan notified the new pro-English Sepakhadz cabinet, that Red Azerbadjan would not withdraw its troops from Gilian, where they were defending its frontier, unless the English troops also withdrew from Persia. The pro-English cabinet deferred the opening of the Parliament (Medjilis). On February 21st, Riza Khan overturned it. On February 26th, Ziah-ed-Din's new government annulled the Anglo-Persian treaty and outlined an extensive program of reforms. On the same day Red Russia and Persia reached an agreement which wiped out all traces of the former oppressive Czariat policy in Persia, and laid down the basis of really fraternal relations between the two countries.

On April 13rd, a radio from London announced that the British troops would evacuate Iran on May 15th. The Ziah-ed-Din cabinet fell very soon on account of its policy which

remained in spite of everything, pro-English. The Premier fled to Bagdad. He was replaced by Gaban-ea-Saltan. The Medjilis met June 22nd and no longer paid attention to the agreements made formerly with England.

Since then, the English military instructors have been dismissed. On September 18th the British financial advisers left Persia. The tirailleurs of the South who were commanded by English officers were disbanded.

On October 30th the Gilian front was liquidated.

Our commercial mission headed by Comrade Balgor, has been in Persia since July 13rd. Our commercial relations have been carried on way of the northern frontiers of the country. Persia has spontaneously offered its aid for the famine-stricken.

*The English Influence Checkmated in Afghanistan.*

On September 14th our representative and the one of the Afghan government signed a preliminary agreement at Kabul. In January 1921, Harry Dobb's English mission arrived at Kabul, offering to withdraw all support given to the Afghan tribes who were fighting against the Emir, furthermore to give powerful material aid to Afghanistan, and to indemnify it for the losses caused by the Anglo-Afghan war of 1919. In their counter-proposals the Afghans demanded a plebiscite in the frontier regions of India, and this caused the failure of the negotiations.

On February 21st, the Russo-Afghan treaty was signed at Moscow. Its main provisions call for the unconditional recognition of the independence of the two countries and of the Oriental nationalities, the establishment of consular relations, right of transit for Russian commerce through Afghanistan, and a general collaboration on the part of Russia in the technical and intellectual development of Afghanistan.

In the spring of 1920, great reforms began in this country — the drawing up of a criminal code, abolition of slavery, etc.

Nevertheless Dobb's stayed at Kabul and was not inactive there. The Assembly of Notables deliberated from November 7th to 11th over the English and Russian proposals. It ratified the treaty with Russia, however.

On July 16th Comrade Raskolnikov, our representative at Kabul was warmly received there. The Dobb's mission returned to London in September and there the Anglo-Afghan negotiations are being continued.

In the *Khiva and Bokhara Republics* we have carried on with success the work of Sovietizing and of emancipation.

*Resumption of Relations with China.*

We have resumed diplomatic relations with China. On February 3rd Chen-Konan-Ping, the Consul-General of China, arrived at Moscow. The government of Peking agreed, in principle, to receive our representative. We were definitely informed on October 24th that it would receive our representative. We were informed on October 24th that it would receive our commercial mission. We immediately sent Comrade Poikes to China.

The Far Eastern Republic has been officially represented at Peking since September, 1920, by Comrade Iourine.

*Popular National Emancipation of Mongolia.*

On May 26, 1921 the reactionary Merkulov took possession of Vladivostok with the aid of Japanese bayonets. Ungern, leader of the White bands, who had occupied Mongolia with the backing of Japan, attacked the Far Eastern Republic.

The popular revolutionary government of Mongolia which had received hospitality in Russian territory and was in close contact with us, directed the national resistance against Ungern's bands. The troops of Soviet Russia, those of the Far Eastern Republic and of revolutionary Mongolia fought against Ungern and seized Urga, where a popular Mongolian government was elected which asked us, in July, to withdraw our troops. On August 10th, we agreed to do so. On September 11th, we also agreed to assume the role of arbitrator between China and Mongolia.

On October 26th, negotiations were started at Moscow with the object of establishing lasting friendly relations between Mongolia and Russia.

The remnants of the White bands which have taken refuge in the North of Mongolia are being pursued there by our forces.

*Negotiations with Japan.*

Negotiations with Japan have at last become possible. On August 26th, pourparlers were begun at Dobny between Japan and the Far Eastern Republic on the question of the evacuation of the coastal zone by the Japanese and the resumption of commercial relations. The Far Eastern Republic insisted that a representative of the Moscow government take part in the negotiations. Japan having consented, Comrade



Marchlevsky was appointed for this purpose, and he started out from Moscow on October 24th.

One can see from these facts the progress achieved in Asia by Soviet Russia which in the future will be recognized by all the oppressed peoples as a natural ally.

## THE LABOUR MOVEMENT

### Czecho-Slovakia at the Cross-roads.

by A. Kreibich (Reichenberg).

Now more than ever is it the duty of the European Communists to pay attention to Czecho-Slovakia. Not only because this state is of great importance in the development of Central Europe on account of its geographical position and its complex economic, national and political relations, but also because it is on the threshold of important decisions in its domestic and foreign policies, and because it faces great social and economic changes.

Czecho-Slovakia acquired an exceptionally strong position when 70 per cent of the former Austrian industries fell to its share at the time when its boundaries were defined. It was thus enabled to extricate itself from the post-war period of goods and coal shortage, and to profit by the same shortage which the successors of the Habsburgs fell into. With Krémal at its head and with Rasin who was the director of the largest Czech bank, a fellow member of the same party and Krémal's companion in high-treason as its minister of finance, the first government of the republic pursued a policy of the strictest economic isolation and complete separation from the other successor states, and mounted the high horse in national politics. But the shortage in goods of that time has disappeared long ago, and it becomes clearer from day to day that the state and its industries are looking forward to the export of manufactured articles. Now its relatively high foreign exchange as compared with the other successor states is becoming a disadvantage. Germany has risen in importance as a trading country. The West was not very promising. But the foreign exchange of the successor states sank lower and lower, and Germany's reparation burdens weighed heavier and heavier upon her. The end was the crash of the mark. Unemployment in Czecho-Slovakia rose enormously. The coal-production had to be curtailed, and the stores of coke are assuming gigantic proportions. In Kladno the blast-furnaces are banked and thousands of workers have been discharged from the Vitkovitz Iron Works. A shortlived boom in the textile-industry does not alter the situation as a whole. This situation will grow still worse, especially if the crisis in Germany becomes more acute. Several Czech politicians have built up the theory of the "Isle of Fortune", as Czecho-Slovakia is designated by them, because this country is surrounded by countries of low rates of exchange. But a further depreciation of the mark or a possible bankruptcy of Germany will inevitably drag Czecho-Slovakia down with it. By assigning all new expenditures to a special budget, the state budget is thus artificially kept in balance without incurring a bigger deficit. This method requires a credit which is hardly to be gotten. The greater part of the income is made up of a high turnover tax and an equally high coal tax. Moreover the military budget is growing, whereas the educational budget is shrinking.

In the national question the Germans are making less trouble. Due to the influence of the economic crisis and the threatening, bitter social struggles, a moderation of the national radicalism made itself felt in the camp of the German nationalists; from that direction voices may be heard which sound compromise. The hostility of the German nationals against the Czech state has somewhat slackened, because it is self-evident that this state can also be used and employed in the interests of the money-bags. The national differences in Slovakia are already more important. There the irredentism among the Magyar bourgeoisie is very strong. Its main support is the officialdom which the Czecho-Slovakian Government inherited from old Hungary. This happened because the Czechs had no other officials who were versed in Hungarian law-making and management. This officialdom is thus kept up in spite of its Magyar sentiments, because like the old imperial Austrian officials, they are most useful and trustworthy in the suppression of the revolutionary proletariat. So for example, the ministry of the interior in Prague was assigned to Dr. Cerry, who during the war was one of the most willing tools in the hands of the Habsburgs in Moravia; Dr. Klima, who under the Habsburgs was the chief of the secret political police in Prague, is now the Chief of Police of Kaschau, the capital of Eastern Slovakia. Of course both

of these men are thorough monarchists. Our comrades published serious accusations against an entire group of important Magyar political officials of Slovakia; the material published reveals and indicts them as agents of Horthy. All this is of no avail because the government considers the suppression of Communism as of greater importance. This system and the ruthless fury of the Czech officials and military, but particularly the special decisions made for Czecho-Slovakia, roused deep dissatisfaction among the Slovaks. The dissatisfaction is expressed in the cry for autonomy. The Government parties succeeded in winning the Slovak Clericals into the government majority, only after a great deal of trouble and after they had made big concessions to the Clericals in the questions of church and school. Not a week passes in this situation without bringing a crisis.

Under such circumstances, it is self-evident that the ruling parties see a great danger in the return of the Habsburgs to Hungary. The Slovak Clerical peasants and their leaders cherish no particular love for Horthy, but at heart they are still monarchists, who have not yet forgotten the Habsburgs. A Hungary under Habsburgs would make the danger of losing Slovakia an immediate one. The restoration of the Habsburgs would mark the beginning of the end of the Czech state. That is why we see a sudden enthusiasm on the part of the ruling parties, for a republic and democracy; in reality however, they care naught for democracy and are not at all concerned over the monarchism of Roumania and Jugo-Slavia, or the reaction and white terror going on in these countries and in Poland. The stand taken by the Communists could therefore be no other than this: the proletariat is prepared and determined to strike the reaction at its roots, to free its Hungarian brothers and to sweep the Habsburgs out of the way. But this can be accomplished only through the revolutionary action of an armed proletariat, which will then turn against all reaction within the country. The present reactionary forces which rule now, will never carry on a war against Monarchism and Reaction; in case of war they will instead pursue their own reactionary and imperialistic purposes. Therefore, a light against mobilization and against war.

The end of the campaign launched by the Little Entente against Hungary was a sad one. Indeed, the Habsburgs were driven out, but nothing was accomplished in the main issue — the disarming of Horthy. The Allies who openly pursue a reactionary policy in Central Europe, are triumphant. The treaty with Poland was concluded immediately after the Hungarian campaign. This treaty virtually means the surrender of M. Benesch to the French command. Moreover, Czecho-Slovakia has already obligated itself to Roumania and Poland — the two countries which are used by the Allies as watchdogs against Soviet Russia — to let through war materials and troops for the war against Russia. Thus nothing has come of the efforts of Benesch to pursue an independent policy based upon the will of the masses.

Only a few weeks have passed since the former government of officials has been displaced by the coalition of bourgeois and socialist parties, and the situation of the proletariat has already become worse. The censorship and the limitation of freedom have been intensified; the martyrs of the class-justice which raged after the December struggle remain in prison; the separation of Church and State is repeated; under the direction of the capitalists the passing of social-reform laws has greatly slackened; the duty on articles of consumption has been increased, while the property tax is comparatively lower than ever. The housing-reform has been limited, the school budget reduced, and the expenses for the army doubled. The capitalists, supported by the government whose social-democratic ministers expressed themselves against a wage-increase, proceed in the most drastic manner against the working-class. The miners of Ostrau who are faced by the question, "Right or Submission", were threatened by the government with compulsory measures. The next step of this policy in this direction will be the passing of extraordinary laws against the Communists. So far, Czecho-Slovakia was behind the other countries of the Little Entente and Poland in this respect, which fact was undoubtedly brought home to Benesch by France. In the meanwhile he is attempting the "needle-prick" policy.

Czecho-Slovakia, thus confronts a crisis, and the young united Communist Party faces bitter struggles.

### Growing Economic Struggles in Italy.

by Piffro.

Italy is passing through a new period of great economic disturbances.

All sections of workers now affected have been compelled to defend their interests against the offensive of the employers.

The Italian capitalists like those of other countries are trying to reduce wages under the pretext that industry is passing through a crisis. For three months the wool-workers—about 50,000 men and women—have been engaged in a prolonged struggle against the employers who are striving to reduce wages by no less than 20 to 40 %. The resistance of the workers is marvelous. There are no signs of discouragement through the long struggle means untold misery to the workers.

The trade-union is led by reformists of the type of Galli, who before the Verona conference were supporters of the united trade-union front because the masses desired it, but who at the conference in order not to displease their god D'Aragnona voted against the communist resolution on the united front of the proletariat.

During the three months of the wool-workers' strike the General Confederation of Labour took no interest whatsoever in the struggle. Its only action in this matter was the issuing of a manifesto to the public in which, after mentioning the various phases of the struggle, it urged the acceptance of the award. We are quoting here without comment the concluding part of the manifesto:

"We believe that in the interests of our economic life which now more than ever demands a solution of the present crisis a just award on all the question arising out of the conflict should put an end to the strike and thus prevent serious losses. Therefore we appeal to public opinion and its spokesmen in order that our efforts may not be in vain!"

We are sure that the proposal of the trade-union leaders will not be in vain. It will be accepted not only by public opinion, but by the wool capitalists too!! For let it be remembered that in Italy in a struggle between capital and labour the party recommending the acceptance of an award of a conciliation board admits its own defeat.

The metal workers of Liguria and of Venezia Giulia are on strike for three weeks and as yet no settlement is in sight. In Liguria the capitalists rejected a proposal of mediation of the Prefect of Genoa; should the employers adhere to their present attitude, a general strike of all the Ligurian workers will be declared.

In Venezia Giulia the number of strikers is about 14,000. The organization is under the leadership of the Communists who since the beginning of the struggle have demanded that it be spread over the whole of Italy. They declined of course all responsibility as to the result of the struggle.

The determination of the workers is remarkable. In order to understand that one has to read the appeal issued by the women of Trieste: "Strikers! rely upon us! The proletarian women of Trieste have proved that they are ready for sacrifices. They bear the greatest hardship but have not degraded themselves by accepting assistance from the class enemy. We call upon you: 'Forward!'. We shall not look on quietly while children are begging for bread. The maternal love that drives the lioness to attack will serve us as an example".

This document shows that the proletarian masses of Italy are still imbued by a revolutionary spirit. It is only to be regretted that this proletariat is being led by such social-traitors as the leaders of the trade-unions. Let us hope that the work commenced by the Communist Trade-Union Committee will soon meet with success. Two objects have to be attained:

1. The defeat of the offensive of the employers and the Fascisti and a counter-attack against them.
2. The liberation of the General Confederation of Labor from the bureaucrats and its transformation into an organization of the class-struggle, which will unite the iron battalions for the storming of the stronghold of the bourgeoisie and the establishment on its ruins of a new Communist society.

## Unemployment in Sweden.

A. B. The period of the world war, or, strictly speaking, the years 1916, 1917 and 1918 comprised a period of great prosperity for Swedish industry. The climax was reached in 1918. The number of industrial enterprises amounted to 9,828 in 1915 and 10,518 in 1918. The total number of workers in these industries rose from 373,936 in 1915 to 385,280 in 1918. The value of the products of industry amounted to 5,037,000,000 crowns in 1918. It was higher by 13 % than the corresponding sum in 1917, and higher by 33 % than the corresponding sum in 1916. These successive increases in value were the result of a rise in prices, and not of a larger output of goods.

After the end of the war the industrial situation became worse, but it improved again perceptibly at the end of 1919, and at the beginning of 1920. This improvement was followed by an unprecedented general depression. The number of unemployed, which in 1913 amounted to 4.4 % of the organized workers, rose to 4.7 % in 1920, to 25.2 % by May 1921, and it has finally risen to 27.8 %. On September 1, 1920 there were 60,000 workers in the factories whose owners were members of the Manufacturers' League. On September 1, 1921 there were only 27,000 workers in these factories. Part-time work was resorted to in these enterprises as well as in the smelting works because their production amounted to only a third of their output in the corresponding months of 1920. The total number of unemployed, including unorganized workers, is 100,000.

On account of a lack of statistical material it is impossible, at present, to show in definite figures the effect of unemployment on the economic situation of the working-class. Everything, however, goes to show that need and misery have increased enormously. One third of the 285,000 members of the Trade-Union Confederation are without work, and one third are working on part-time. A trade-union movement started in January and February 1921. The principal demand was that the most important trade-union organization, the Trade-Union Confederation, should begin the fight. The other demands were the following: socialization of industry, checking the reduction of wages, and help for the unemployed. In spite of that the Executive Committee of the Trade-Union Confederation remained inactive.

As the unemployed and the part-time workers realized that the Confederation was unwilling to support those out of work, the Stockholm League of Unemployed convoked the General Congress of the Trade-Union Confederation and its affiliated unions, together with the Syndicalist organizations, the leagues of unemployed, etc. The majority of those representing the Trade-Union Confederation and its affiliated unions left the Congress on the very first day, declaring that they had no instructions to concur in any decisions which bind their organizations to pay for unemployment support. This Congress passed resolutions on the question of government and municipal relief works, on the payment of full wages to these workers according to the existing wage standard, on the question of unemployment aid, etc. The Congress sent a petition to the government covering these questions. The government did nothing. The Congress also drew up a resolution dealing with the factory and superior economic councils, as well as a resolution dealing with the forms of organization and aims of the trade-unions.

The Congress has decided that it favors, in principle, the beginning of a general strike on September 4th. The Congress left the manner of action to be decided upon by the trade-unions, the local organizations, and the unemployment leagues. Thanks to the betrayal by the Confederation, the movement was wrecked.

In 1921, the employers have been gradually reducing wages. As a consequence of the lack of official statistics, it is impossible to state, with certainty, the average proportion of wage-reduction. Wages of important labor-groups were reduced by 25 % and 50 %. All labor-agreements will expire on December 31 of the current year. The enterprises adhering to the Swedish Employers' League employ 300,000 workers in normal times. They have decided to reduce wages considerably, and to abolish the yearly vacation. The manufactures of machinery have decided to reduce the minimum hourly wage of the workers in the neighborhood of Stockholm from 90 Ore to 63 Ore. This measure will affect 60,000 workers. The manufacturers of matches want to reduce the workers' wages by respectively 33 1/4 %, by 40 % and even by 50 %. The employers in the wood industry want to reduce the wages by 53 %, those of the shoe industry by 35 % to 50 %, of the leather industry by 40 %, etc. The same thing is true of all industries. The agricultural laborers have been working since October 24th without any agreement. The big landowners insist on reducing the wages from 92 Ore to 58 Ore an hour for day wages, and from 1,075 crowns to 775 crowns for yearly wages.

The Communist Party of Sweden is doing everything within its power to improve the conditions of the unemployed and those still working. The trade-union agitation which severely criticised the reduction of wages and the yielding attitude of the trade-union leaders was carried out by the Trade-Union Agitation League under the control of the Executive Committee of the C. P. S. The Parliamentary factions are trying as far as possible to influence the decisions of the working-class.

Before the elections to the Riksdag, the Executive Committee of the C. P. S. addressed itself to the workers with an appeal whose main points were the overturn of the government in a parliamentary way, the formation of a ministry which would be

under the control of the labouring-masses, and which, on account of the pressure exercised by the masses, would call an extra session of the Riksdag for purpose of fighting against unemployment.

The calling of the Unemployment Congress, whose decisions were of great significance for purposes of agitation, was the work of the C. P. S. The activity of the Party as regards unemployment extended very far, was in full accord with our principles and has strengthened the situation of the workers in their relation with the bourgeoisie. This conduct of the Party has increased the sympathy for the Communists, as was clearly shown by the number of Communist votes at the elections for the Riksdag.

On the day that the Social Democratic ministry was formed, the Communist Party Congress at Stockholm drew up a program whose most important demands were: 1. the calling of an extra session of the Riksdag to combat unemployment, and 2. the increase of trade with Soviet Russia and the recognition of the Soviet government.

## IN THE CAMP OF OUR ENEMIES

### The Italian Socialist Party

by G. Zinoviev.

At present we are already in a position to draw conclusions from the development of the Italian Socialist Party.

The doings of the SPI. are undoubtedly of international importance. For those who wish to appreciate the most important events in the international labor movement, an understanding of the development of the SPI. is a necessary condition.

Even after the Livorno Congress, at the end of 1920, when the left wing, consisting of 58,000 members, broke away from the party and formed the Communist Party, the SPI. retained the outward features of a great political party. The SPI. also won a comparatively big victory in the parliamentary elections of last summer. In reality however, the SPI. is degenerating. After the Livorno Congress, that is after 58,000 Communists had left it, the SPI. still had 112,000 members; 98,000 followers of Serrati (Center) and 14,000 reformists. During the year between the Congress at Livorno and the one in Milan, the leaders of the SPI. followed the wishes of Serrati and Turati and systematically accepted all those reformists, who since 1912 had been excluded from the party. According to the figures published by the Italian Communists, which have not been disputed by the followers of Serrati, 15,000 reformists, who had formerly been excluded from the party, returned to it in the past year. And in spite of this considerable gain of the reformist wing, the party lost at least 30,000 members during the period between the Livorno and Milan Congresses. At the time of the Milan Congress, which ended recently, the SPI. counted hardly 80,000 members. When we subtract the 15,000 avowed enemies of Socialism who returned to the party, we have only 65,000 left. In other words, in less than one year the SPI. shrank to a little more than one half of its size: from 112,000 to 65,000.

These figures alone suffice to show us that Serrati's policy is bringing about the ruin of the party.

Still more important are the figures which disclose to us the groupings within the SPI., and its new structure, which is characterized by the Centrist betrayal. At the Livorno Congress the entire party, including the Communists, had 170,000 members. The reformists had only 14,000 votes, i.e., less than one-tenth. Serrati and his friends did not want to break with this one-tenth, and preferred to break with 60,000 Communists. After the Serratis remained alone with the reformists, the latter triumphed at every step. The result was, that at the end of the Congress, the reformists had not 14,000, but 27,000 votes. In the main vote at Milan, the Serrati fraction had 47,000 votes, the reformists 27,000 and the followers of the Communist International had 3,500 votes. This figure 27,000 is the number of members in the Turati and Alessandri fractions. Turati's fraction received over 19,000 votes; that of Alessandri, over 8,000. There is no essential difference between the two fractions of Turati and Alessandri. Turati himself has said so more than once. It is very probable that Alessandri intentionally created the supposedly independent fraction for purposes of internal party strategy. Thus the followers of pure reformism in its crassest "collaboration" form, already control one third of the SPI. votes, and are approaching the stage where they will be as strong as the Serrati fraction. Besides, when we consider that Turati controls an overwhelming majority in the parliamentary fraction which

in reality does all the work, and that the labor-union leaders, from D'Aragona to Baldeci, are followers of Turati, it becomes clear that the purest reformists are actually the masters of the present SPI.

The SPI. is rapidly approaching the stage where it will join the International 2½. The president of the International 2½ was already able to appear at the Milan Congress. In his characteristic Jesuit manner, Serrati explained to the Congress that Friedrich Adler was not appearing as the official representative of the International 2½—God forbid!—but that he was appearing as a private person. The day after the Congress, the Italian Labor Federation, led by the old experienced reformist D'Aragona, proclaimed its entrance into the Amsterdam International. On the 25th of September 1921, M. Treves, one of the foremost leaders of the Italian reformists, wrote in the paper "Avanti", which had for a long time been transformed by Serrati into a tool of the Reformists, as follows: "Does the Moscow International meet these fundamental demands? It is only an organ for the Russo-Turkish Alliance, it has concluded secret treaties with Germany, and is preparing the revenge for Versailles". (Avanti, August 25, 1921.) And a scoundrel like Treves, who speaks in this manner of the Third International, wanted to force Serrati upon us, as a member of the Third International....

Let us create no illusions for ourselves. At the Milan Congress, the most avowed reformism in its most Millerandist form so dear to the bourgeoisie triumphed. The SPI., led by Turati and Serrati, will sink deeper and deeper. It will sink into the swamp of Opportunism, and will become the best weapon in the hands of the Italian bourgeoisie. Such is the development of the SPI.

Wherein are the causes of the fall of the SPI. to be found; the party which a year ago was looked upon as a revolutionary party by many of us?

The SPI. shares the fate of many old socialist Parties. Varying in details, it went the way of the SPD., or, shall we say, of the Russian Social-Revolutionary Party. It had gathered into it a great number of petty-bourgeois followers. It swelled up and gradually became just the opposite of what a truly revolutionary party should be. The fact that, at the last parliamentary elections, the SPI. received more than a million and a half votes, and that more than one hundred of its candidates were elected for Congress, is to be explained by the fact that numerous groups of the petty-bourgeois voted for it. Before our eyes, we see the transformation of the SPI., from a revolutionary factor to a reactionary one, as was exactly the case with the SPD. (Social-Democratic Party of Germany) and with the Russian Social-Revolutionaries.

How could we be so blindly mistaken about the SPI.? How was it that the International suffered so long from the illusion that the SPI. was actually a revolutionary party? There were many reasons for that.

When a few years before the beginning of the imperialistic world war, a comparatively small group of reformists quit the SPI., because of their attitude towards the colonial war, many people saw in this insignificant step a fundamental party split. We suffered from the illusion that the SPI. had actually rid itself of its weeds. Unfortunately such was not the case. With the aid of Serrati, the old reformists have now come back to the party, have made themselves at home, and again put their feet on the table. But even then the split was not a fundamental one, but only a comparatively insignificant episode. During the imperialistic world-war, the SPI. outwardly behaved rather well. Even such old reformists as Modighani participated in Zimmerwald and Kienthal. But this also had special reasons. Italy entered the war many months after the other imperialistic powers. The degrading, bestial and criminal character of the war was already known at that time to the workers of many countries, Italy among them. For these reasons, neither the SPI., nor the Italian reformists dared openly to come out in support of the imperialistic war. That does not mean that the party was then a truly revolutionary, proletarian party.

At the end of the imperialistic war, the indignation of the Italian workers against the bourgeoisie had no limits. A part of the peasants and most of the army were caught by this spirit of indignation. At that time even the reformists were compelled "faire la bonne mine au mauvais jeu", and pretended they were adherents of the Third International. But when in the autumn of 1920, at the decisive moment when the Italian workers opened a serious fight against the capitalists and the metal workers seized the factories, the PSI., from Turati to Serrati, went over to the side of the bourgeoisie, and attacked



the workers from the rear. Since that day the leaders of the SPI. have been rapidly going towards the right. The Italian workers, sold and betrayed by their party, deserted at the most decisive moment, began to hesitate and weakened in their attack. Then the bourgeoisie took up the offensive and began to crucify the Italian workers with the aid of the White Terror Fascisti. The reformists gained courage through the attack of the bourgeoisie, and are now openly propagating "Co-operation with the bourgeoisie". In other words, they are following the example of Scheidemann and Noske. Livio Agostini, one of Serrati's followers, wrote recently. "We, who heard the mutinous cry of the masses against the adherents and authors of the war, we, who watched the complete submissiveness of the incapable and helpless bourgeoisie, we were at that time (1919), compelled by Communism—the Communism which had triumphed in Hungary and Russia, the Communism which was then raging in Germany and which shook the whole of Europe in the birth-pangs of the new future—to win immediate victory in our country."

But after a while, the bourgeoisie fortified its positions, the "enraged" mass quieted down, the flowers withered, the lire died out, and Serrati and all his friends made haste to capitulate before the bourgeoisie.

The very first false speeches of Serrati and his friends, at the Second World Congress of the Communist International warned us to be careful. It was the duty of the CI. ruthlessly to persecute the Italian traitors. Our friends who accused the CI. of an uncalled for severity against the SPI. were absolutely in the wrong. We hope that the events and results of the Milan Congress will convince all sincere adherents of the CI. that the latter was in the right. We should not be accused of too great a severity against the SPI.; we should rather be accused of not having despatched our ultimatum sooner.

Before the Milan Congress, one could still hope to succeed in saving the SPI. from the catastrophe. These hopes have now vanished. The SPI. will pursue its way until the end. It will drain to the dregs the cup of reformist betrayal. Only gradually, step by step, one group of workers after the other which are still supporting the SPI. will be won over by us to our side. In the last year several thousand workers quit the SPI. By far not all have come to us; many are still hesitating. Many workers, disappointed by the betrayal of their leaders, have become obstinate in their refusal to participate in politics at all. Many of them, intimidated by the bourgeoisie, and oppressed by the unemployment and by repression, are attempting to hide themselves for a while. In spite of all this, the future belongs to the young CPI. Recent events tend to show that our CPI. is beginning gradually to win the sympathy of the workers. At the congress of the metal workers of all Italy, which has just ended, the Italian communists received nearly one-half of the votes. The strike in Trieste was led by the communists. If we make no mistakes, (and the CI., which has become wiser through bitter experiences, will do everything to warn the Italian comrades against mistakes) we shall quickly win over the overwhelming majority of the Italian working class to our side. And the SPI. will in its present condition degenerate into an open petty-bourgeois reform party.

The fate of the SPI. is a warning to all. It is a classical example of the fact that Reformism will entirely devour he who offers it only a finger. The dead seize the living. It was reformism that ruined the SPI. The thing condemned to death by history must die. "The dead shall sleep peacefully in their graves! . . ."

The Communists should increase their energy tenfold in order to shorten the period of decay and disappointment created by the betrayal of the SPI. The Italian Communists can and will liberate the Italian working-class from slavery.

## Monsieur Fimmen and his Colleagues

By W. Lada.

An editor of the Dutch Social Democratic organ "Het Volk" has interviewed the secretary of the Amsterdam Trade Union International, M. Fimmen, shortly after the end of the recent trade union disarmament conference. He asked what the opinion of the participants in the conference was concerning the Washington Conference, and received the following interesting reply (cited from the Communist organ "De Tribune" of the 22nd November):

"All the participants were not of the same opinion on this question. The majority did not expect anything from the Washington Conference. The minority also did not expect much to result from the Conference, but nevertheless hoped that at least something would come of it. In reality, no one places any

confidence in 'disarmament'. My opinion is already known. I consider the entire Washington Conference as an extremely dangerous comedy, staged in order to hoodwink the workers and to prevent them from initiating their own action, from a fight against militarism, from the erection of a power which by direct action and the general strike will eliminate the threatening danger of future war.

Thus the Washington Conference has, according to Fimmen, no other purpose but the hoodwinking of the workers and the prevention of their struggle against capitalism. "Our opinion as well, M. Fimmen, but in the beginning of November the English Labor Party—in other words the English Amsterdamers—introduced a resolution in the House of Commons which 'most heartily greeted' the Washington Conference and expressed the hope that it would lift the armament burden from the shoulders of the people in the world. But on 11 November, Jouhaux, the vice-president of the Amsterdam International signed in Geneva in the name of all the trade-union leaders with all the members of the Executive and the president at their head—in the name of Mertens, Oudegeest, Leparis, Wissels, Baldesi, Caballero, Poulton, Walker, and J. H. Thomas—signed a telegram to Harding in which the Geneva Conference expressed the conviction that the Washington would 'create a lasting and solid work', in order finally to bring about world peace, that they would not hesitate 'to serve the cause of humanity in an actual way.'"

What do you think of that? M. Fimmen? Do not your colleagues, the leaders of the Amsterdam Trade Union International also belong to those who throw dust in the workers' eyes?

## The Convention of the Austrian Social-Democracy.

by V. Stern (Vienna).

The Austrian Social-Democracy, the leading party of the International 2½ is vainly looking for its like in the entire world. In practise this party stands even further to the right than the Scheidemann Party; in theory, however, it is so elastic as to consider it as mere trifle one day to glorify Bolshevik methods as right and necessary (naturally only for distant countries and periods) and the next day to state with cynical thankness that it is the task of the working-class to serve as cheapest handyman to the bourgeoisie and offer the latter the heaviest sacrifices. A particularly crass aspect of this spirit is seen in the attitude of the Social-Democratic Party leadership during the last convention held in Vienna (Nov. 26th-27th).

The "Arbeiter-Zeitung" itself says that this convention brought nothing new and served the purpose only of making clear to the membership the "policy" of the party. In the proletarian part of the Social Democratic membership there begins to appear—and neither the careful managing of the convention nor the even more careful reporting can completely suppress the fact—a constantly growing appreciation for the Communist criticism of Social-Democratic policy. The Social-Democracy employs the method of saying very little publicly about the Communists, making it hereby appear as if Communism deserved no notice whatsoever in Austria. The Social Democracy subsists in large degree upon the power of attraction residing in its comparatively large numbers as against the small Communist Party. That is why they confine themselves to fighting Communism through secret terror without limit in the workshops, through unheard-of calumny behind the stage, etc. Since, however, deathly silence will not do away with existing facts, the convention was devoted to the counteracting of Communist influences. All reports were nothing but pitiable attempts of self-vindication in the face of the serious Communist indictments; which were employed by a certain speaker of the opposition in the Social-Democracy.

Otto Bauer undertook to weaken the most serious accusation, the reproach, namely, that the Social-Democracy quietly allows itself to be outvoted in questions of the greatest moment to the proletariat, and that its financial plan itself helps the government to practise usury upon the masses. He found nothing else to advance than the reference to the fact that the proletariat the world over is forced to the defensive against capitalism, that, therefore the victory of socialism is impossible in little Austria although the working-class is here stronger outside of the Parliament than the bourgeoisie. The civil war would end with the White Terror and the Social-Democracy must, therefore, patiently suffer being outvoted in Parliament. He denied with effrontery that it was the Social-Democratic financial plan which made it possible for the government to adopt the measures which

bear so heavily upon the masses. And yet when Gürtler announced for the first time his program of taxation comprising hundreds of billions, the "Arbeiter-Zeitung" stated with great jubilation that the major part of this program had been borrowed from the Social-Democratic financial plan. That the Social-Democratic policy in the entire world is responsible for the growing capitalist offensive is something he naturally passed by in silence, as well as the fact that the gathering of revolutionary forces and the ruin of the capitalist industrial system are moving onward with rapid strides. The theory that the working-class, even though more wonderful than its opponent, must simply yield at all points, where, for internal or external reasons, it cannot wield complete mastery, is, therefore, the newest achievement of this master in the invention of pretexts for the betrayal of the proletariat.

More interesting still is Bauer's revelation concerning the "System of Persuasion". In other countries, says he, there reigns a system of force in opposition to the proletariat; in Austria, on the other hand there is the "system of persuasion" by means of which not every ass can rule; and he hastened to add that the system is exercised by those who do not form part of the Government. Thus he shamelessly admitted that the "persuasion" of the Social-Democratic leaders brought the masses here to make their sacrifices in favor of the possessing classes which the proletariat elsewhere is forced to accept only by the employment of bloody violence. The Social-Democracy confesses itself to be a working substitute for the Noske guards and for the violence which Capitalism here cannot call to its orders on a sufficiently large scale.

Eldersch, formerly food-minister, sought to render palatable for the delegates the entry of the Social-Democracy in the fight against the rising cost of living. He thought that this certainly hard task could be lightened by senseless slander of the Communists. According to him the Communists demand that the State deficit be covered by the printing of bank notes. In reality the Communists are engaged in a passionate struggle against this form of financial management. But Eldersch made this statement so as to create the impression that but one choice is possible—that between the rise in the cost of living and the printing of bank notes. That is why he kept silent about the Communists' demand that the deficit be covered by forcible contributions from the possessing class. Had he stated that clearly, his opposition to it would have appeared unexplicable to every Social-Democratic worker.

But this bluff alone was not enough and so Eldersch asserted proudly that the reduction in the high cost of living must not be effected at once but gradually and that the fight for a real wage must continue. Flow this is to happen when the Social-Democrats will hear nothing of the Control of Production did not appear clear. Should the employers even consent to grant an increase in wages—and wages cannot, indeed, remain the same when the price of everything else is doubled—the increase would be naturally shifted to increased prices. Moreover, the Social-Democracy has not hitherto shown any opposition when the government introduced new burdensome taxation, without bothering about Social-Democratic "Conditions".

Finally Adler perspired over the International. He asserted that, whereas at the last convention one might still have entertained the idea of entering the Third International, now things have progressed so far that one might consider whether it would not be advisable to return to the Second International. Since, however, one cannot know whether capitalism is to hold out much longer or to fall it is best not to form any binding alliance with any side. This is typically Friedrich Adler.

Despite all this the discussion shows the quickening influence of the clear Communist attitude comprehensible to every proletarian. But the management and falsely conceived discipline won of course. Every motion of the party leadership was passed unanimously. Well-meant motions of naive members and local groups, for the fight against clericalism, for modern matrimonial law, against "Kongrua", against the monarchist reaction, against high prices, etc. were either tabled or referred to the Parliamentary fraction or the Executive Committee and thus given a first class burial. The new-old Executive Committee will act as if its policies have won the approbation of the masses of the membership.

In truth, this last convention showed, so far as that was possible, that the policies now practised by the Social-Democracy puzzle the masses. The consequences of these policies, growing rapidly more serious, will do the rest to open the eyes of numberless proletarians.

## RELIEF FOR RUSSIA

### The Communist International's Relief for Russia.

The total of the wage donations, which in accordance with the suggestion of the Communist International, have been contributed by the Communist parties and the Communist municipal deputations for the Russian famine-stricken, has reached the sum of 80,000,000 German marks. On the 1st of November the total was 70,000,000 marks. However, when the results of the collections on November 7th are tabulated, the total of the donations will reach 100,000,000 marks. The Berlin workers' Relief Committee has done all in its power to turn the collected sums into food as quickly as possible. During October the following shipments were made by the Berlin Committee:

The German steamer "Siegfried" with 60 carloads of food and medicines and a shipment of food via Reval; the Swedish steamer "Miranda" from Stockholm to Petrograd. In November the steamer "Beckland" with 100 tons of flour, sugar and rice and the steamer "Werner" with 200 tons of rice, beans and fat left Hamburg for Petrograd. A steamer left Copenhagen with sugar, cocoa and condensed milk and the steamer "Delphin" with 400 tons of milk, herring and cod-liver oil left Norway for Petrograd. 30 carloads of flour arrived from Bulgaria at the beginning of November. On November 12th the steamer "Frida Holm", flying the flag of the International, arrived at Petrograd from Slettin with a cargo of 400 tons of flour, 100 tons of beans, 60 tons of rice and 240 tons of miscellaneous foodstuffs. On the 17th of November a steamer left Marseilles for Odessa with a cargo of 1,000 tons of rice and 200 tons of clothing. The cargoes of all ships were handed over to the Central Relief Committee which takes care of the further transport of the food into the hunger regions. The food thus far shipped suffices for the daily maintenance of 50,000 people until the next harvest.

## The White Terror

### An Appeal of the Spanish Comrades.

Comrade Arlandis, member of the Executive Bureau of the Red Trade-Union International, who had been arrested in Berlin upon the demand of the Spanish police, has just been released and deported from the territory of the German republic. However, Luis Nicola Fort and his companion, together with Comrade Nin, are still menaced, although the Madrid bourgeois press (El Sol and El Heraldo) have ironically declared that the international protest of Labour has rendered their extradition difficult. The white Terror continues to rage in Spain, where the inquisitors, the executioners and the hirelings of the most reactionary employing class in the world are at work. Comrade Arlandis has signed an appeal to the German workers in the name of the National Confederation of Spain, from which we quote the following passage:

"The Spanish government has had the German police arrest revolutionaries who are accused as accessories to the murder of M. Dato, and whose extradition is demanded. Under no circumstances must these men be handed over to the inquisitors. For two years the Spanish proletariat has been suffering under a reign of terror comparable only to that of White Hungary. For two years the organized workers of Spain have been imprisoned and tortured in jail by the thousand. The leaders of all labour organization have been outlawed. Merely being a trade-unionist is severely punished by law. Since the beginning of 1921, more than 600 of our comrades have been killed by the police or by the assassins in the pay of the bourgeoisie. Two members of the Executive Committee of the National Confederation of Spain, comrade Boal, secretary, and comrade Féliu, have been assassinated by the police after having been subjected to frightful tortures.

We do not know if the revolutionaries imprisoned in Berlin actually took part in Dato's execution. But if they should have, they would be participants in an undoubtedly political act of legitimate defense against a reaction which has butchered hundreds and thousands of workers. Comrades! Prevent their deliverance to the inquisitors. Support us against the reaction in Spain.

For the National Confederation of Spain  
H. Arlandis.